

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 HA-05 /084 W
-----012690 301418Z /47

R 300715Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6756
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
AMCONSUL TRIESTE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NY
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GER
AFOSI NAPLES

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4077

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, YO, PGOV, PROP
SUBJ: TALK WITH DJILAS

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH HE BELIEVES YUGOSLAV HARD LINERS WILL
BE PROMINENT IN IMMEDIATE POST TITO ERA, DISSIDENT MILOVAN
DJILAS FEELS THAT MORE MODERATE FORCES WITHIN LEADERSHIP
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BACKED BY PARTY MAINSTREAM WILL EVENTUALLY TAKE CONTROL. HE
IS THUS RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S POLITICAL
COURSE. HOWEVER, HE FORSEES NO ROLE FOR HIMSELF, AND HIS
LIFE IN YUGOSLAVIA IS REFLECTIVE OF HIS UNCHANGING STATUS
WITH THE GOY. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING MAY 25 DINNER CONVERSATION ACTING POLCOUNS HAD

WITH DJILAS AND HIS WIFE, STEFANIJA, AT JOURNALIST'S HOME, DJILAS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WITH IMMEDIATE POST TITO NEED TO CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL POSITIONS AND ASSURE SECURITY, LCY HARD LINERS WILL BE ABLE TO SECURE THEIR PLACES AND PERHAPS GAIN SOME ASCENDENCY. (ASKED TO NAME SOME OF THE "HARD LINERS", DJILAS MENTIONED ONLY BOSNIAN BRANKO MIKULIC AND SERBS MILOS MINIC, PETAR STAMBOLIC, AND MIRKO POPOVIC.) HOWEVER, ONCE INITIAL PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION PASSES, PREVAILING LCY MOVEMENT SHOULD BE IN MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. CURRENT MEMBERSHIP IS YOUNG AND ACCUSTOMED TO THE RELATIVELY MORE OPEN SITUATION WHICH HAS OBTAINED IN RECENT YEARS--THIS PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO THE EARLY POST WAR YEARS WHEN, ACCORDING TO MRS. DJILAS, "FRIENDS WERE AFRAID TO DISCUSS IMPORTANT MATTERS PRIVATELY WITH OTHER FRIENDS." SHE ADDED THAT ACTUAL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IS UNRECOGNIZEABLE FROM THAT WHICH SHE RECALLS FROM HER ACTIVIST DAYS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR. WHILE THE MEDIA STILL EMPLOYS ONE VIEWPOINT, STREET CONVERSATIONS, TALKS IN SHOPS, ALL EXUDE AIR OF GREATER LIBERTY NOW PERMITTED BY LCY. THUS, LEADERSHIP WOULD HAVE TROUBLE TRYING TO MAINTAIN A "HARD LINE" FOR TOO LONG AND WOULD HAVE TO GIVE WAY TO THE ATMOSPHERE PREFERRED BY MOST OF THE MEMBERSHIP.

3. DJILAS BELIEVES THAT THE EVENTUAL EMERGENT LEADERSHIP WILL NOT BE THAT WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR CONSTITUTIONALLY OR BY PARTY
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STATUTE. DESPITE THE UNBROKEN LINE OF TITO'S REIGN, DJILAS DOES NOT THINK THAT LOWER LEADERSHIP LEVELS GENERALLY HAVE BEEN LONG ENOUGH IN POWER TO SUSTAIN WHAT TITO HAS BEEN TRYING TO PROVIDE FOR IN HIS WAKE. WHILE HE AGREES THAT KARDELJ, IF IN GOOD HEALTH, WILL BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR, HE BELIEVES THERE WILL BE POWER STRUGGLES AND THAT THE ULTIMATE WINNER WILL NOT BE A COLLEGIUM. HE WAS RELUCTANT TO MENTION PERSONALITIES BUT FEELS THAT DOLANC WITH HIS WEAK POWER BASE WAS CERTAINLY NOT A FRONT RUNNER.

4. DJILAS SAW NOTHING UNUSUAL ABOUT THE RUMORS CIRCULATING ON THE STATE OF TITO'S HEALTH. HE HAD HEARD TITO'S MAY 25 BIRTHDAY STATEMENT ON RADIO AND MRS. DJILAS HAD WATCHED SAME CEREMONY ON TELEVISION. NEITHER NOTICED ANYTHING UNTOWARD ABOUT TITO'S SPEAKING ABILITY NOR ABOUT THE WAY HE HANDLED HIMSELF DURING THE CEREMONY.

5. DJILAS ADMITS TO NO DIRECT CONTACT WITH ANY CURRENT YUGOSLAV LEADERS OR WITH THOSE IN RETIREMENT. HE REMARKED HAVING SEEN KOCA POPOVIC ON THE STREET SEVERAL TIMES INCLUDING ON ONE OCCASION DURING WHICH POPOVIC WAS FORCED

BY CIRCUMSTANCES TO ACKNOWLEDGE DJILAS. POPOVIC DID SO
IN PREEMPTORY FASHION WITH A "GOOD EVENING DJILAS", AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4077

THEN PASSED BY. MRS. DJILAS SAID THEY REALIZE THAT
FREINDSHIP WITH THEM COULD CAUSE TROUBLE FOR OTHER
YUGOSLAVS SO THEY LIMIT THEIR YUGOSLAV CONTACTS. HE SAID
HE IS RECOGNIZED ON THE STREET BY OLDER YUGOSLAVS FROM
TIME TO TIME BUT HARDLY EVER BY YOUNGER ONES OR AT LEAST
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BY THOSE WHO MANIFEST THEIR RECOGNITION OF HIM.

6. HE STILL DOES NOT HAVE A PASSPORT; SHE DOES, BUT HERS EXPIRES SOON AND SHE IS ABOUT TO APPLY FOR RENEWAL. SHE SAID THAT WHEN SHE REQUESTED HER CURRENT PASSPORT SHE WAS TURNED DOWN. AFTER SOME FOREIGN GROUPS REMONSTRATED WITH THE GOY ON HER BEHALF NOTING THAT SHE NEEDED TO TRAVEL FOR HEALTH TREATMENT, THE PASSPORT WAS ISSUED TO HER. SHE SAID SHE IS NOT GOING TO USE THE HEALTH REASON WHEN SHE APPLIES FOR RENEWAL.

7. MRS. DJILAS SAID THEIR SON NOW ABOUT TO COMPLETE GRADUATE WORK AT THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS WISHES TO RETURN TO WORK IN YUGOSLAVIA. SHE IS CONCERNED HOWEVER THAT HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FIND USEFUL EMPLOYMENT HERE. IN THIS REGARD DJILAS MENTIONED THAT HIS COUSIN, VITOMIR DJILAS, WHO WAS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED IN 1976, IS TO BE RELEASED SIX MONTHS EARLY IN SEPTEMBER. HERE IS ANOTHER INSTANCE, SAID MRS. DJILAS, THAT DUE TO CONNECTION WITH HER HUSBAND, ANOTHER PERSON WILL BE UNABLE TO FIND A JOB.

8. EVEN UNDER THE MOST POSITIVE POSSIBLE CONDITIONS IN A POST TITO YUGOSLAVIA, DJILAS SAYS HE DOES NOT EXPECT TO BE OFFERED ANY ROLE. TOO MUCH OF CURRENTLY ACCEPTED HISTORY WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED. MRS. DJILAS NOTED THAT IN THEIR CASE HISTORY IS STILL BEING REWRITTEN. WHEN HE WAS DISGRACED AND JAILED, ALL HIS POSITIONS AND HONORS WERE TAKEN AWAY. SHE, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS AN ACKNOWLEDGED RETIRED MILITARY OFFICER AND HAS MAINTAINED CERTAIN RIGHTS ACCRUING TO HER STATUS. (INCIDENTALLY BOTH RECEIVE PENSIONS FROM THE GOY.) NEVERTHELESS SMALL STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN TO SEE THAT SHE DOES NOT RECEIVE ALL SHE DESERVES. WHILE SHE WAS INSCRIBED ON PARTY ROLLS IN 1941 AND THUS DESERVING OF
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A SPECIAL HERO'S BURIAL AT THE TIME OF HER DEATH, IN RECENT YEARS ARTICLES HAVE MOVED HER INSCRIPTION UP TO 1942. ARTICLES HAVE ALSO CHANGED HER BIRTH PLACE FROM A TOWN NEAR TITO'S BIRTH PLACE IN THE ZAGORJE REGION TO THE CITY OF KARLOVAC SOUTH OF ZAGREB WHICH SHE HAS VISITED ONLY ONCE. MRS. DJILAS WAS SADDENED BY THESE ACTIONS BUT SAID SHE DID NOT INTEND TO RAISE THE MATTER OFFICIALLY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL LEADERS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA04077
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780225-1228
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978059/aaaaahip.tel
Line Count: 221
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 35d3cba3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2782275
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TALK WITH DJILAS
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, PROP, YO, (DJILAS, MILOVAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/35d3cba3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014